[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder
● 538 animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost
182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison,
578 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disre-
422 gard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen,
609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [415 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the people were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538 ●
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, 577]
a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Xam

193 a or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǃkõĩŋ "grandfather",
[196] ǁkā "brother", ʘpwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".
[601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ibo, we say i ea,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ibo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

ʘpwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes
193 "child", which in ǂxam is ǃkwā. That ʘpoŋ "son" and ʘpwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ʘpwai-thI
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ʘpwa "child" and thaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ʘpwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from thaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǃkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
● [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 ǁkā, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka
601 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The adjective ǃkori simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Xam

I think ǃkŏŋ, ǃkoŏŋe "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuĭya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". ǂoa ǃke-ke means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǂam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-ʘpwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂkʻau ǁen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dxou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both.

The ǂkuŋ terms show more variety. ǂkū ǂnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǁga and ǁge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǂkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'."

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as **mama**. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either **aba** or ǁku. **Aba** is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. **Eisha** I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same.

ǁkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǁkuŋ **kwena** means "grown-up people", ǁkuŋ ǂarro **kwena** "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word tahō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//gwashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 332–3.